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MAY MEETING, 1901.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P.M. ; the President in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved. The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library ; and the Cabinet-Keeper made an oral report of several interesting gifts to his department.

Charles Gross, Ph.D., of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

The President reported from the Council the following vote, which on their recommendation was passed unanimously, —

Voted, That the Treasurer be, and he is hereby, authorized, with the written approval of the President, or, in case of his absence or inability to act, of one of the Vice-Presidents, to sell, assign, and transfer any stocks or registered bonds standing in the name of the Society.

Messrs. Edward J. Young, Alexander McKenzie, and Charles C. Smith were appointed the Committee to publish the Proceedings for the current year.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON communicated the memoir of the late William H. Whitmore, which he had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

Since the April meeting of the Society two names have been stricken from its rolls, — the Right Rev. William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, an Honorary Member of the Society, died at the palace of the diocese, Cuddesdon, England, on the morning of Monday, April 22d ; and Samuel F. McCleary, a Resident Member, died at his house in Brookline on Thursday, April 25th.

It has not been customary to enter upon our Proceedings any detailed action in connection with the deaths of Honorary Members, unless during their membership they may have

taken some special or active part in the work of the Society. No exception was made to this salutary general rule in the case of the late Bishop of London, the Right Rev. Mandell Creighton. Before proceeding, however, to speak of the Bishop of Oxford, I feel that there were certain circumstances connected with the Bishop of London which should have here received more notice than was at our February meeting given to them ; for this Society, in common with all Massachusetts, was under a peculiar obligation to Bishop Creighton, which ought not to have been ignored. It was through his active intervention that the Bradford manuscript, the sacred book of Massachusetts Genesis, was restored to the Commonwealth. Indeed, it may be, and should be, remembered that, had it not been for the Right Rev. Mandell Creighton, then, by a happy accident, Bishop of London, the Bradford manuscript would not now be in the library at the State House. The case was one of a class which not infrequently arises. A picture, a relic, an original book of records of valuable historical character, through some unknown process finds its way into a public collection, — in that case into the Library of the Diocese of London. How it came there no one knows, nor, probably, will ever know ; but, whether as the result of theft or purchase or gift, it is there. Under such circumstances, in the case of the Bradford manuscript, it would have been the easy, perhaps it would have been the natural course, because acquisitive and human, for one temporarily intrusted with its possession, as was Bishop Creighton, to insist that the curious relic was part of the Fulham Library, and could under no circumstances be parted with or surrendered. The incumbent held it merely as part of his trust. Such an insistence would have been in strict keeping with a long line of precedents. Fortunately Mandell Creighton was a larger-minded, a more liberal man ; and, as such, he took a broad view of the question. When, through the intervention of our Associate Member the Hon. George F. Hoar, the suggestion was thrown out that it would be a graceful act of international courtesy were this record restored to those across the Atlantic to whom it originally and rightfully belonged, the then Bishop of London met the proposition as such a proposition should be met. The equitable ownership being indisputable, it became with him merely a question of devising the appropriate legal means

which would enable him to surrender the manuscript to those in whom that equitable ownership lay. Wherever a will of this sort exists, a way opens. In this case it did not open through an Act of Parliament, almost impossible to obtain, which it had been suggested might be found necessary; a smaller-minded man would have been sure to evade a surrender by raising that obstacle; Bishop Creighton, on the other hand, devised a recourse to the Consistory Court.¹ There the knot was readily untied; and, after an absence of a century and a quarter, the precious record, returned to Massachusetts, passed into public ownership.

I now call especial attention to this matter, and the course pursued in it, that I may once more put on record a recognition. For this reason alone the name of Mandell Creighton will add lustre to our Honorary list. We honored ourselves when, in recognition of his part in this transaction, we honored him. Two similar cases on a smaller scale have recently arisen within the recent experience of the Society. In dealing with them, I am glad to say, we evinced a similar spirit. Thus the Bradford manuscript established a precedent which it is greatly to be hoped will hereafter be generally followed.

Turning now to the brother of Bishop Creighton in the Diocese of Oxford, whose death is to-day announced, I shall content myself with saying that the Right Rev. William Stubbs was one who would have properly belonged to our honorary roll no matter how carefully the Society might scrutinize the names there placed. Born at Knaresborough, in Yorkshire, on the 21st of June, 1825, the Bishop of Oxford, at the time of his death, was in his seventy-sixth year. He was chosen an Honorary Member at our October meeting, 1876, while still merely the Regius Professor of History at Oxford. In looking back to our published record of that meeting, while I find in it a somewhat sharp reminder of the rapid passage of time, it is also suggestive of the closeness of the links which connect us with a long anterior period. That was the first autumn meeting of the Centennial year. To many of us it does not now seem as if that year were very remote. Indeed, the echoes of the great celebration, and the addresses which marked its progress, seem still to linger in our ears; and yet, in looking over the list of those then members of the Society,

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. xii. p. 60.

I find but fifteen names of those members of it now. Our senior member, Dr. Green, who for more than six years has headed our roll, stood then forty-fourth upon it. But at that same meeting the President announced the death of Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, who a few of us still remember walking our streets, the one-armed veteran of the War of 1812. Colonel Aspinwall was a Harvard graduate of the Class of 1804. Those two names, therefore, William Stubbs and Thomas Aspinwall, coming in close conjunction in our record, carry us directly back to the threshold of the last century. When thus made an Honorary Member, Mr. Stubbs was simply the rector of Chalderton; for not until 1879 did Lord Beaconsfield appoint him to the canonry at St. Paul's. In 1884 Mr. Gladstone promoted him to the See of Chester; more recently, in 1888, Lord Salisbury translated him to Oxford. Meanwhile the historical work which had given him his well-deserved reputation the Bishop of Oxford had done mainly while still the Rev. William Stubbs. His *History of England* was published between 1874 and 1878; and his statutory lectures on Mediæval and Modern History, delivered as Regius Professor at Oxford, were published in 1886. One feature in connection with these lectures, it will be remembered, called forth a criticism from our associate Dr. William Everett, at the December meeting of the Society in 1886, immediately after their publication; Dr. Everett then feeling it incumbent upon him to enter a formal protest against what he termed the "thoroughly partisan attack" therein contained on what is known as the Puritan development in English history. With the exception of his acknowledgment and acceptance of election as an Honorary Member, I am not aware that either Dr. Stubbs or the Bishop of Oxford ever took any active part in connection with our Society. So far as we were concerned, his name was simply borne on our rolls as a well-deserved tribute from us to him, — a proper recognition of exceptionally valuable work done in his and our common field.

Turning to our deceased Resident associate, Samuel Foster McCleary, I shall, according to my rule, confine myself simply to mentioning the leading facts connected with his membership. Mr. McCleary was elected at the February meeting in 1886, — the meeting at which the death of his friend and

classmate of 1841, Francis Edward Parker, was announced. Of that class the names of three are borne upon our resident roll, one of the trio only, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, now remaining. Chosen to the Society in 1886, Mr. McCleary served on the Committee to report on the publication of the Pickering manuscripts in 1887; and also, during the same year, on the Committee appointed to wait upon the Governor in connection with what is known as the Attucks Memorial of the so-called Boston Massacre. He also in that year contributed to our Proceedings a list of names of boys attending the North and South writing-schools of Boston in 1755. In 1890 he served on the Auditing Committee. Our Proceedings for 1891 contain a tribute paid by him to Mayor Samuel C. Cobb. In June, 1892, he presented certain papers to the Society which will be found printed in our record of that date. In 1893 he was elected Cabinet-Keeper to succeed Dr. Oliver, and served in that capacity five years, until April, 1898. In October, 1897, he read a paper to us on the "Origin, Purpose, and Results of the (Boston) Franklin Fund."

The most useful service rendered by Mr. McCleary to the Society took, however, another and not conspicuous form. He was eminently a serviceable member. In fact, at certain junctures and in certain connections few in all its long history connected with the Society have to it been more serviceable. In the Annual Report of the Council for 1897,¹ a recognition of this is on record, no less deserved than explicit, in connection with the difficult work of removing the collections of the Society from their Tremont Street quarters, and having them properly packed and stored until this building should be ready for their reception. For executive work of this character Mr. McCleary possessed a natural aptitude. A labor which to another would have been burdensome and vexatious — a veritable weariness to both spirit and flesh — seemed to afford him positive pleasure. This he twice evinced. The first occasion was in connection with a part of the legacy to the Society of my predecessor, our late President, Dr. Ellis; the next was shortly after, in the more complicated transfer I have already alluded to. Dr. Ellis, as the members of the Society will remember, left us not only his house on Marlborough Street, but his manuscripts, and a large portion of his furniture and

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. xi. p. 316.

personal effects. It is not easy to suggest a practical course which the Society could have pursued in disposing of this life-long and very miscellaneous accumulation, — separating the wheat from the chaff, — had the services of Mr. McCleary not been at command. It was a case in which the tools naturally went to the workman. Through his agency everything was not only done, but it was done in the best possible way, the Society as a whole not being even aware of the obligation it was under. In the far more difficult task of the removal of the Society's collections from the Tremont Street quarters this experience was repeated. The accumulation of rubbish, as well as of things of greater or less value, was in this case well-nigh incredible. The Augean labor devolved as of course on Mr. McCleary, and the skill, energy, tact, and apparent enjoyment even, with which he accomplished it, moved at the time the special wonder of those who had occasion to observe. But, perhaps, his most remarkable feat in this line was the removal from the Tremont Street building of our friend, Dr. Green, then, as now, our Librarian. To many of us, looking curiously forward to that uprooting, the case of the Librarian had been matter of special solicitude of a conjectural character. An upheaval, how it was to be effected, and what consequences might ensue, were not clear. With bated breath we waited to see. The moment at last came. When all else had been removed, Mr. McCleary one morning quietly appeared in the accustomed quarters, and informed the Doctor that his papers, desk, chair, and he himself were to follow. The hand of the master was then apparent. To the amazement of some of us the sun that day went down as it arose, — Boston felt no shock, as Dr. Green accepted the inevitable; his somewhat vast as well as altogether miscellaneous accumulation of papers passed into the hands of packers, and the day following he found himself seated at the same desk, in the same chair, with the same papers littered in most admired as well as customary confusion before him, in what proved for the next two years his temporary quarters, as well as those of the Society. In this delicate episode Mr. McCleary's method of procedure was nothing less than Napoleonic, — we, the onlookers, silently bore witness to the handiwork of the master.

Thus it may truly be said of Mr. McCleary that, in his own

way, at a time when such were greatly needed and almost invaluable, he as a member of the Society rendered it services not easy to requite, deserving therefor well of it and of us.

I shall ask our friend Mr. C. C. Smith, long associated in many ways with Mr. McCleary, now to pay to him the tribute customary in these cases.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH then said : —

Mr. President,— It is with a keen sense of personal loss that I rise to pay a last tribute to the friend and associate of many years whose death you have announced. Samuel Foster McCleary was one of a class of members on our roll in every generation who have not filled a large space in our printed Proceedings, but who have rendered important service to the Society, the knowledge of which must be to a great extent traditional. He was born in Boston, July 14, 1822, graduated at Harvard College with good rank in 1841, studied law in the Harvard Law School and afterward with our late associate John A. Andrew, and was admitted to the bar in 1844. In 1852 he was elected City Clerk as the successor of his father, who had filled that office from the first organization of a municipal government thirty years before. The son discharged the duties of the office with rare ability and scrupulous fidelity for thirty-one years, and for the larger part of the time was the confidential friend and adviser of the successive mayors. At the end of that period a partisan administration, believing in and giving effect to the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils, came into power, and it was sought to include the office of City Clerk among those to which the doctrine should be applied. On the joint ballot by the Aldermen and Common Council it was reported by the committee appointed to count the votes that another candidate had received a majority, 43 to 40, and that there was one blank. Mr. McCleary was not again a candidate for public office. For the next four or five years he had a somewhat uncongenial employment as the local manager of one of the great life insurance companies; and he then retired from active life, except so far as he found it in connection with this Society and in the management of trusts which had long before been confided to him by friends or relatives.

But it is of his relations to this Society that I purpose to speak. He was elected a member in February, 1886, mainly in recognition of his minute and accurate knowledge of Boston and its history. At the Annual Meeting in 1893 he was elected Cabinet-Keeper, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Dr. Oliver in the preceding December. This office he filled to universal acceptance for five years, when he declined a re-election. He was strongly urged to withdraw his resignation by his associates in the Council and by the Committee for nominating Officers, who knew how valuable had been his services under peculiarly difficult circumstances. Besides doing much to put the Cabinet into a more orderly and attractive condition, and to add to its treasures, he cheerfully assumed on the death of our great benefactor, the late President of the Society, the entire charge of selecting from the bequest of Dr. Ellis such articles of personal property as it seemed desirable for the Society to retain, and of selling to the best advantage such articles as it was thought necessary or expedient to convert into money for addition to the Ellis Fund. A little later, when the Society's building on Tremont Street was sold, he took entire personal charge of the removal of the books and Cabinet as well as of the furniture to the storage warehouses; and on the completion of this building he took similar charge of the necessary details in transferring our various possessions to their new home. Without his energy and watchfulness, it is not easy to see how the work could have been done so well or so speedily. All this was outside of the duties of a Cabinet-Keeper; and in fact when we came here he had ceased to hold that office.

In 1887 he was appointed, with our late associates Edward J. Lowell and Roger Wolcott, on a committee to consider what course should be pursued with reference to publishing a selection from the Pickering Papers. He subsequently served on the committee which published in 1896 the Historical Index to the Pickering Papers. Besides the duties assigned to the committee of which Mr. Lowell was chairman, Mr. McCleary voluntarily undertook to prepare, and completed, an index on cards of all the persons incidentally mentioned in the Pickering Papers. "This index," said Mr. Lowell in his report, "contains about eleven thousand cards, giving the full names of all persons mentioned in the fifty-

eight volumes, with the exception, sometimes, of those which appear in the general index. The value of such a work to genealogists and biographers is obvious. The lists being authentic, and in many cases official, may be compared in their utility to parish and private registers." On the publishing committee which carried the Historical Index through the press he rendered prompt and useful service.

Mr. McCleary was very constant in his attendance at the meetings of the Society; and from time to time he made short written or extemporaneous communications. In March, 1891, he paid an extended and appreciative tribute to our late associate Samuel C. Cobb, who had been an Alderman and Mayor while Mr. McCleary was City Clerk. But his most important contribution to our Proceedings was in October, 1897, when he read a full and interesting history of the Fund bequeathed to the town of Boston by Dr. Benjamin Franklin, of which he was from 1876 to a year or two before his death the faithful and careful Treasurer.

Mr. McCleary's opinions on political and religious questions, as well as on matters of lesser importance, were firmly but unobtrusively held, and he was always able to give a reason for the faith which he professed. First a Whig and afterward a Republican, he was never a party man. Growing up and coming to maturity at a time when the Unitarian pulpits of Boston were filled with strong and able men, he was deeply and permanently influenced by their preaching and writings; and he never forsook or modified in any marked degree the views to which he had given a well-considered assent. His acquaintance with men and affairs was large and various; his knowledge of the history of Boston, especially since its incorporation as a city, and of the State legislation in any way affecting it, was thorough and exact; and on questions of parliamentary practice he was a recognized authority. His busy life left him little time for wide reading, but he was familiar with the best literature, and he had a very retentive memory. His style, whether in speaking or writing, was, like the man himself, direct, transparent, and forceful.

In all the relations of private life he was an agreeable companion, a steadfast friend, a wise counsellor. Those who knew him well will not hesitate to say of him, they never knew a truer or better man. Into the sacred precincts of

his home life I will not venture ; but it should be said that what he was outside of his own family that he was in far greater degree to those bound to him by the closest ties. Besides the qualities already mentioned what chiefly impressed me in the friend whose example was always an inspiration, and whose memory will be a cherished possession now that he is gone, was his high sense of honor and his spotless integrity, his absolute unselfishness, his serene courage, and his deep, settled religious faith. Disappointment came to him, and heavy sorrows ; but with Milton he might have said truly, —

“ Yet I argue not
Against Heaven’s hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope ; but still bear up and steer
Right onward.”

There was no fruitless repining, no duty left undone. Whatever his hand found to do, that he did cheerfully ; and with eager eye he sought occasion for serving others.

Mr. James M. Bugbee was appointed to prepare a memoir of Mr. McCleary for publication in the Proceedings.

The PRESIDENT then said that Mr. Hoar had taken so active a part in the various steps which led to the return of the Bradford Manuscript that the Society would gladly hear anything which he might be inclined to say on the subject.

Mr. HOAR said : —

I did not know that the President intended to say anything about the Bradford Manuscript, or that he wished me to say anything about it. I told the story of the restoration of that precious manuscript to Massachusetts, in an address to the Legislature when it was received, and in much greater detail in a paper published in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society.

Bishop Creighton deserves all the gratitude and commendation that Mr. Adams has expressed. But the great kindness and service of his predecessor, Bishop Temple, now Archbishop, ought not to be forgotten.

Great good fortune at every step attended the effort to get back the manuscript. I delivered an address at Plymouth on the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the landing. In getting ready for that duty, I read again Bradford’s narra-

tive with new interest and delight. William Bradford seems to me one of the most attractive characters in our history. I do not know what it is, but you are impressed with the loveliness and grace of the man by his handwriting and his style, as you are impressed with the quality of men sometimes by a glance of the eye or the sound of the step. Everything recorded of him, everything he says and does, is infinitely attractive.

When I went abroad in 1896, I determined to visit the locality, on the borders of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, from which Bradford and Brewster and Robinson came, and especially to see the Bradford Manuscript at Fulham, and, if possible, to get it back to Massachusetts. I spoke to Mr. Bayard, then our Ambassador, about it, and he promised to help me. But I was compelled to go to the Continent, and nothing was done about it then. In the fall, a week before I sailed for home, I dined with a friend who had been very kind to me. As I took leave of him late one night, he asked me if he could do anything further for me. I said, "No, unless you happen to know the Bishop of London. I should like very much to get a sight of Bradford's History." He said he did not know the Bishop himself, but a friend of his and mine, at whose house I had spent Sunday shortly before, was a nephew of the Bishop by marriage, and he would gladly give me a letter of introduction. The letter came the next Sunday morning. I sent it to Bishop Temple. He asked me to call at the Palace Tuesday afternoon, when he would show me the "Log of the Mayflower," as he called it. I kept the appointment, and found the Bishop waiting for me with the manuscript in his hand. After looking at it, I said, "Bishop, I am going to say something that you may think highly audacious. But I think this manuscript ought to go back to Massachusetts." I told him what was known of its history and loss and discovery. He said he thought so too, but he did not know we cared anything about it. I said that if there should be discovered an original manuscript in the handwriting of King Alfred, giving the history of his reign, it would not be more precious in the eyes of Englishmen than this history is in ours. I then stated all the reasons I could think of for sending it back. He listened graciously and said, "I myself think it ought to go back. But I must have the assent of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Indeed I think I should speak to the Queen about it. We

ought not to do such a thing behind her Majesty's back." I am told by a friend who afterwards had a conversation with the Archbishop that the Queen was spoken to and gave her hearty approval.

I told him that as soon as I got home, I would have some of the Historical Societies make a proper application, and we would see what could be done. When I got home, I prepared a paper, requesting the return of the manuscript, signed by myself, Stephen Salisbury, Edward Everett Hale, and Samuel A. Green for the American Antiquarian Society; by Charles Francis Adams, Bishop William Lawrence, and President Eliot for this Society; by Arthur Lord, William M. Evarts, and William T. Davis for the Pilgrim Society; by Charles C. Beaman, Joseph H. Choate and J. Pierpont Morgan for the New England Society of New York; and by Roger Wolcott, then Lieutenant-Governor and acting Governor of the Commonwealth.

I had stated to the Bishop in our conversation everything contained in this application, except a reference to a precedent which had been set by the Philadelphia Library, when they returned to the British Government some important documents belonging to its archives, which had in some way come into the possession of the Library.

I mention these facts now, because I understand that our late associate Mr. Winsor, in some remarks which I believe were never printed, said he was inclined to think that the arguments made in the written application to the Bishop were not calculated to promote the desire of the applicants. These arguments are precisely those which satisfied the mind of Bishop Temple when they were stated to him orally, with the exception of the citation of the action of the Library Association, which precedent is cited and relied upon by the Consistory Court in the judgment ordering the return of the Manuscript.

After my interview with Bishop Temple, he became Archbishop, and was, I have no doubt, consulted by Bishop Creighton, as he expected to consult his predecessor if he had himself remained Lord Bishop of London.

Archbishop Temple, as appears by several letters written by him after the affair was over, took the deepest interest in the whole transaction. He is entitled to our gratitude. I think

it proper to make this statement in answer to your request. But it does not in the least diminish our sense of obligation to Bishop Creighton, who did everything he could to promote its return. He had originally proposed an Act of Parliament for the purpose, and had undertaken to introduce it himself. But happily the more convenient and simple method of a judgment of the Consistory Court was hit upon.

The Third Section having been called on for communications, Mr. JOSIAH P. QUINCY read the following paper:—

Dreams as Factors in History.

In his recent life of Cromwell Mr. John Morley advances the somewhat comprehensive proposition that “in history we should try to understand the possible reasons for everything.” Among the possible reasons for many things, men in all ages have placed the suggestive influence of dreams. They have held that these mysterious voices of the night must find room in that confused interlacing of forces whose result is the evolutionary process of which any one age is so insignificant a part. We may accept the claim that instruction has come through dreams—that the mind has been lifted to a higher ethical level—without admitting the supernatural interference that has often been supposed. For dreams are rearrangements of the antecedents and beliefs which make up our individualities, and “when all the nerve of sense is numb” they may crystallize our vague desires into a purpose potent enough to be carried over into the life of the day.

It has often been noted that dreams give their impulsions, whether towards good or evil, under the masks of symbolism or allegory. It was a true instinct in Bunyan to represent his famous book as the vision of a sleeper; it is not improbable that its central idea, as well as some of its details, came to him in this way. Ancient history abounds in recitals of teachings, warnings, prognostications conveyed by dreams; and the Bible gives us striking instances of their influence upon human affairs. I do not know what the “higher criticism” may have to say about the dream of Solomon given in the third chapter of the first book of Kings; but there is no reason why the nobler desires and aspirations of the monarch should not have been focused exactly as is there

narrated, and so have turned Jewish history into channels that it would not otherwise have taken. The dream or vision of Peter, in the tenth chapter of Acts, is surely explicable by the subconscious working of the Apostle's mind over the then burning question of sharing with the Gentiles the benefits of the Christian Church. Experimental psychology authorizes the conclusion that the human mind, temporally freed in sleep from its tangle of prepossessions and prejudices, may sometimes reach saner conclusions than would have been possible in its waking life. There is no need to cite examples to show that history would have been other than it is were it not for the accident of a dream. For we cannot dispense with that convenient word "accident," even if we suspect that it has no right in the dictionary, and that "necessity" and "the inevitable" should be written with initial capitals.

We should not hastily assume that dreams leave but faint impressions upon the waking life; there is good evidence to show that they can pass into the day as fixed beliefs not distinguishable from those caused by impressions upon our active senses. I was dining with a few gentlemen last autumn, and, the conversation happening to run in that direction, two of them related dreams that were accepted as actual occurrences. The narrators of these curious delusions — and this is a point that I wish especially to emphasize — were not visionary persons of unstable nerve centres; they were well-known men of sound judgment and discretion. One of them was a distinguished professor of natural science, and the other requires no better endorsement than goes with his membership of this Society. In a limited range of inquiry I have found that similar instances are not uncommon, and to me at least they explain much that is obscure in history. The dream-event must correspond to the dreamer's ideas as to the probable, otherwise the waking mind will regard it sceptically as something not assimilable with the rest of its furniture. The dream of the professor was to the effect that a certain citizen had made a magnificent donation to an institution much in need of such benefaction. Such a princely gift was not uncommon, it accorded with the professor's views of the fitting, and thus entered that general atmosphere of beliefs that stimulate us to action.

But if the dream, so convincing to the professor, could have visited some worthy matron who had fallen into a doze between the "Ninthly" and "Tenthly" of one of Cotton Mather's sermons, it would have been promptly repudiated as the height of absurdity. "What! a sum of money, equal to the united possessions of fifty of the wealthiest men of the Colony, given to a preposterous institution not in charge of the clergy—was ever anything so ridiculous!" Not so a possible dream of the same matron that she had ridden through the air upon a stick and joined her neighbors in a burlesque sacrament administered by a personage as real to her and to her pastor as any political boss is to us. It is easy to see that such visionary experience might have been accepted as a fact and have initiated a course of events that without it would not have come to pass.

In the case of the professor it is not difficult to imagine several series of sequents that the dream could have set in motion; some of them might have changed the history of the institution and incidentally the lives of those who came to it for instruction. The dream-information conveyed to our Associate was received by him with perfect confidence, and was entered in a book of records belonging to an organization of which he was an officer. It depended upon chance how soon these gentlemen would encounter facts so inconsistent with their beliefs that they must be abandoned.

Now it is a fair inference that a derangement of events, which might have resulted from the dreams of persons of exceptional sagacity, certainly has resulted in the multitudinous cases where the dreamers were prejudiced and ignorant. It is surely probable that when some vivid night-fancy flattered the vanity or exalted the egotism of an unbalanced mind, it would not easily be corrected in its incongruity with external things. The course of history has been changed by fanatics of no mean mental endowment whose reasoning was sound if we grant their imaginary premises. Where did these grotesque premises come from? A possible answer has already been indicated. But these dream-impulsions, although protean in their manifestations, seldom enter the sphere of direct perception; thus they fail to modify our hasty impression of original and disconnected action on the part of those prominent in the story of the past.

Accept one visionary admission, and the social machine works in a false direction with increasing momentum. "The success of Tituba's confession," writes Cotton Mather, "encouraged those in authority to examine others that were suspected; and the event was that more confessed themselves guilty of the crimes they were suspected for. And thus was the matter driven on." Again he says "that which carried on this matter to such a height was the increasing of confessors until they amounted to near upon fifty." Among other confessions was that of a daughter who confirmed her mother's acknowledgment of attendance at witch meetings, and also that of a granddaughter of seventeen who had ridden with the elder members of her family "on a stick or pole in the air," and had joined them in subscribing their names upon the devil's book at the conclusion of their journey. It may be confidently suggested that most of these absurd confessions had their origin in dreams; and to this I will add my personal conviction that most of them — certainly those of the three confessors in the same family — were of telepathic origin. Cotton Mather assures us that among the "very strong circumstances" which compelled belief in the statements of the confessors were "their punctual agreement with their fellow confessors, their relating the times when they covenanted with Satan, and the reasons that moved them thereunto." A possible cause of these strange agreements is worth consideration.

I am of course aware that some men of scientific attainment hold that communication of minds except through the ordinary channels has not been proved, while other men — their equals in caution and observation — believe that it is proved. As no hypothesis as to the *modus* of the phenomenon is yet attainable, it is perhaps as well that academic teachers should decline to enter those by-paths into the mysterious which for the most part end nowhere. They have enough to do in considering facts that can be verified at any moment. It is doubtful whether the printed evidence (strong as some of it is) could have caused me to believe that the cerebral condition of one brain can be disturbed by the unconscious action of another. But adding this to my personal experience, I cannot entertain the slightest doubt that dreamers, as well as persons who are awake, may affect one another in this obscure way.

To those who are convinced of this, it explains much that is puzzling in the single human life, as well as in the aggregate of lives that make history. But it is by no means necessary to accept telepathy to feel sure that dreams are the efficient causes of long series of events that we never connect with them.

There are so many instances where it seems reasonable to infer that a dream lies back of important developments that it is difficult to make a selection. So I take at random the case of a man who has influenced the course of American history, the founder of Mormonism, Joseph Smith. He was in many respects of marked ability; and some years ago I was interested in studying the sources of his power over his fellows. And it soon appeared that we must take with much allowance the testimony of those with whom he came into collision, even when they were in charge of Christian sects which claimed a more ancient infallibility. The Mormon Church, like all other churches, must be regarded from the inside, and not through the eyes of those whose purposes were thwarted by its militant movements. History may call Smith an impostor; yet it is rational to suppose that, like so many others of his kind, his career began, and was probably strengthened during its course, by the fact that he was imposed upon. His beliefs favored the intervention of supernatural personages in mundane affairs, and when they appeared in dreams as givers of instruction, which he lacked the knowledge to attribute to his own excited brain, it was surely far more natural that they should pass unchallenged among daylight facts than in the two cases that have been mentioned. A delusion of sleep is to me the most probable origin of the Mormon Church; and it is unnecessary to add that belief in access to the counsels of the Most High is not always scrupulous in its methods of propagandism; it has been made to countenance deeds of doubtful morality and even of fraud. Thus I find in dreams the force necessary to place this man in proper historical perspective; neither can I doubt that those honest religionists, according to the teachings of John Wesley, who accepted his enormous claims, were affected by similar influences.

Something more may be said of those not uncommon dreams where personality is divided. Their usual illustration

is the chagrin felt by Dr. Johnson at being beaten in argument by a visionary antagonist, — the sage finding it difficult to understand how he could have supplied reasoning for his own discomfiture. It is easy to see that such a night illusion — when according with the wishes of the dreamer or stimulating to his vanity — might be mistaken for an actual occurrence. A reverberation of the gossip of a dream interlocutor is under certain conditions indistinguishable from statements uttered by human lips. This may account in part for the detestable stories about conspicuous historical personages that are found in secret circulation. Even Washington has not escaped these calumnies; they are whispered about him to-day. It is something that this rubbish is now kept out of written history to which it seems to have been admitted by Roman historians. But in clubs and smoking-rooms one is frequently offered this wretched mythology as authoritative and credible. Where did it originate? I think it a plausible conjecture that some of it has arisen through the illusion of dreams. Unhappily there is a bad element in human nature which makes us too ready to believe evil of those above us in knowledge and virtue. May it not have been that the critical part of some sleeper's brain was dull and passive, while a portion of his split self, masquerading as a distinct personality, set in motion a scurrilous stream of talk that continued to flow on into channels too eager to receive it?

With the great poets it is almost a commonplace that dreams so mingle with the bustle of life as to be indistinguishable from our waking action. Tennyson calls the planet "this dream world of ours," and Shakespeare finds its inhabitants to be "such stuff as dreams are made of"; youth and age are but as dreams of "an after dinner sleep"; and if the sort of experience "that bears the name of life" shall continue elsewhere, it simply raises the question, "what dreams may come when we have shuffled off this mortal coil." Put into plain prose what is asserted by these gifted seers amounts to this: that men's actions are largely determined by subjective influences which they do not suspect; that there is no distinct demarcation between life sleeping and life waking, but that these conditions are mutually interactive as parts of one whole. And the scientific observer, as has so often been the case, finds that he must confirm the insight of

the poet; for he also discovers that dreams must be reckoned among the disturbing forces of human existence whose record is history.

If it is granted that such considerations tend to elucidate some of the problems offered to the philosophical student of history, is it edifying to suspect that many of the chronicled deeds of men have resulted from occult impulses which the actors could neither recognize nor control? Without doubt recent advances in physiology and psychology seem to contract the area controlled by what goes under the name of free will. It must be admitted that the acceptance of what has here been said enjoins caution in our estimate of some important figures in history. An unsuspected dream-coloring may stain the background of their performances and give a false effect to what they have done. But the solemn word "responsibility," though enveloped in clouds and darkness, must persist as the only adequate explanation of human life. Let Science declare that changes in the brain cells that run these mortal machines are either chemical or physical, all the more we shall look beyond it for an immaterial ruler mysteriously linked to these material forces. The character of dreams is the result of many factors, and some of these the waking self can control. The desires and thoughts of the individual are grotesquely grouped in dreams; but this may furnish only matter for a smile if the interests are lawful and the thoughts wise and good. When Macbeth complains that "wicked dreams abuse the curtained sleep," it is clearly because the waking minds of the sleepers have harbored wicked thoughts. It is to be noted that Shakespeare, after setting forth the sentiments of some base character with such strength that they seem almost his own, is careful to protest through some other character against such an inference. And so we find the petition of Banquo, —

" Merciful powers !

Restrain in me the cursed thoughts, that nature
Gives way to in repose ! "

Whatever may be thought of the efficacy of prayer, it is certain that the earnest desire of the heart that utters it is never fruitless. Suggestions in sleep need never impel to evil the man whose waking purpose it is to keep his "bosom franchised and allegiance clear."

It is easy to see that the social relations of the present are always trembling in a state of unstable equilibrium; not less so were those of the past which now seem fixed in the pages of history. The automatic interaction between the fantasies of night and the sense-impressions of day never ceases. The expression "dignity of history" must suffer many abatements as we mark how a hundred petty circumstances are thrown together, and how a chance spark reaching them causes them to blaze up in some world-lighting event. We naturally ask why this is so, and not otherwise. To seek the host of determining causes is to set out upon an infinite regression which soon ends in darkness. A proximate cause of what has been, as of what is, we may now and then find; when it cannot be proved we may reasonably conjecture its existence if an historical problem is thus made easier of solution.

Conspicuous among the old words that have acquired new meanings are "environment" and "suggestion"; as the former may be stretched to include "the sweet influences of the Pleiades," so may the latter be expanded into a potent, if unrecognized, director of human life. If we follow Mr. Morley's advice and try to understand the possible reasons for historical events, we must pass outside the sphere of man's waking consciousness, we must grope in a flicker of half-lights. Yet I think we can see our way to the knowledge that the force of dream-suggestion is a factor not to be omitted in the turns and twists of human affairs. For this explains much that is otherwise obscure, and emphasizes the absolute reasonableness of the divine precept: *Judge not, that ye be not judged.*

Mr. HENRY G. DENNY narrated a curious personal experience of his own, confirmatory of Mr. Quincy's views; and Mr. ALBERT B. HART related an anecdote to a similar effect.

Rev. HENRY F. JENKS communicated the following letters, from the autograph collection of Mr. Grenville H. Norcross, of Boston:—

Liberté. (SEAL) Egalité.

1^{er} Bureau

Secretariat-Général Paris, le 13. thermidor an 5^{me} de la République française, une et indivisible.

Nota. L'ordre de la correspondance exige que le réponse relate le N^o du Bureau ci-dessus indiqué.

Le Ministre des Relations extérieures.
Au commissaire du directoire exécutif près L'ad^m Municipale de Nantes.

Messieurs les Generaux Pinckney et Marshall et le juge Dana ont été nommés, citoyens, par le gouvernement federatif des etats-unis, pour se rendre, en qualité D'envoyés extra-ordinaires et Ministres plenipotentiaires, près la République française. On attend, de jour en jour, leur arrivée en france.

S'ils débarquent dans le porte de Nantes, vous voudrez bien ne mettre aucun obstacle à ce qu'ils continuent leur route vers paris mais au contraire leur donner toutes les facilités qui dependront de vous.

Je vous invite à communiquer ma lettre au Commissaire de la marine et à prendre, de concert avec lui, les mesures qui pourraient être necessaires en cette occasion.

Salut et fraternité.

[Addressed]
au Commissaire
Du Directoire exécutif, pres
l'administration municipale
à Nantes.
M^{re} des relations
exterieures.

M. man. Talleyrand
L

PARIS December 20th 1797.

SIR,— We have received your letters, requesting our opinion on several subjects interesting to the Consuls of the United States, in the several ports of France.

We are very strongly impressed with the justice of refunding immediately to m^r Daubry, and to such other Consuls as may be in the same situation, any monies they may have advanced for the use of the United States. We are sensible of the utility of those advances and

of the patriotism of the motives, which dictated them; and we regret very sincerely that we have not the power of having their accounts settled, and of paying immediately those sums, to which they are so well entitled. Full representations on this subject have been made to the Government of the United States, and we expect soon to receive instructions concerning it. We doubt not that they will be such as justice dictates, and we shall feel much pleasure in hastening to obey them.

The situation of our Sailors demands the immediate attention of our Government. We consider it as indispensably necessary to provide the means of their return to their Country. You will therefore please to inform the different Consuls that wherever opportunities of sending our Sailors home shall occur such opportunities shall be seized, & the necessary advances, not exceeding per man, be made, for which the drafts of the Consul on the Ministers of the United States will be paid. Such drafts, however, must be accompanied with the vouchers necessary to justify the ministers in making such payment; and in the application of this money other vouchers must be taken by the Consuls and Vice-Consuls, to be exhibited to the treasury department of the United States, when they adjust their respective accounts; & duplicates of the vouchers last mentioned must be transmitted to and filed in your office. The forms of the vouchers you will please to prescribe.

The Congress at their last Session has passed an act relative to American vessels condemned in the Courts of France & purchased by American citizens other than the original owners. You will please to have the necessary number of these laws printed, & each Consul furnished with a copy, which you will accompany with instructions desiring him to consider the act as his sole guide on the subject to which it relates.

Altho' we have very little hope that a certificate of the seamen and passengers on board can be of any service to our oppressed and injured commerce, yet we think it adviseable to give such certificates, if requested. We conceive that no injury can result from it, and we are the more inclined to advise it, as such a practice has, we understand, prevailed in some of the ports of the United States. Altho' we give this opinion, we deem it unquestionable that our Treaty with France dispenses with the necessity of any such paper, and therefore care must be taken to avoid any expression, which might be construed to imply such necessity.

We are your obed^t

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY

J. MARSHALL

E. GERRY

FULWAR SKIPWITH esq, Consul General of the U. S. in France.

CAMBRIDGE, Feb 27th 1846

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favor of Jan. 1st did not reach me till Feb. 20th. As to the MS Memoirs you mention, I can give you no information. I have *heard* of the ghostly dialogue between Wolfe & Montcalm, but whether in MS or print, I cannot say. You had better write on the subject to Mr. O. Rich, (12 Red Lion Square, London) who is better acquainted with books on America than any other person. My opinion is that the work has not been published.

I trust your difficulties with the Council about money have been overcome. Public bodies have proverbially no souls, & to judge from their acts it might often be doubted whether they have any conscience. Besides, the Old Bay State has a very odd way in these matters. There is no auditor; and the Governor & Council sit gravely & debate & vote upon every little dribbling account. I think if you had forwarded a certificate from Mr. Austin, that a certain quantity of papers was ready, that it would have answered the purpose. The cautious & patriotic Council, in their great concern for the public purse, profess to require something positive to act upon.

I doubt if much can be found in the archives of the Foreign Office touching colonial affairs; perhaps nothing except such parts of the correspondence of the French ambassador in London from time to time as relate to Canada; and with the rules in that office it is extremely doubtful whether they will permit this correspondence to be examined. I cannot think that the "red line map" affair can be an objection; for certainly nothing appeared before the public in that matter, which could be in the least possible degree objectionable. But I know, from a pretty thorough experience, that there is a morbid sensitiveness in that office; yet I am under very great obligations to Mr. Guizot and Mr. Mignet for their politeness & civilities while I was in the office during my last visit to Paris.

I am glad Mr. Margry is engaged in the work you mention. It will be a valuable contribution to American history. Pray assure him that I have no idea of going over the same ground nor of doing anything more than to publish a new edition of the Life of La Salle, with the view of illustrating the history of the first settlement of Louisiana and Texas. Assure him, also, that if I can contribute in any way to forward his enterprise, I shall be happy to do it.

If La Salle saw the Mississippi before Joliet, it is a new & extraordinary fact. If any document confirms it, I [hope] you will get it if you can; and every thing else relating to the subject.

With great regards

Your most ob^t s^t

JARED SPARKS.

BENJ. P. POORE, Esq.

P. S. Mr. Francis Parkman, of Boston, will probably write to you. He is a young gentleman whose character & connexions give him the highest claim to respect. He is engaged with much zeal in researches relating to certain portions of American history.

[Addressed]

à Monsieur

Mons. BENJAMIN P. POORE,

No 5 Rue Chananeilles, Faubourg St. Germain, Paris

Steamer

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN read the following paper : —

President Lincoln's short speech at Gettysburg, at the dedication of the Soldiers' Cemetery, was a production which at once stamped the author as a master of the English language. For simplicity and strength of style it is unsurpassed, and it has already taken high rank among the finest specimens of choice diction. In a few sentences Mr. Lincoln said exactly what was needed for the occasion, and at the same time he gave worthy utterance to the feelings of a nation. His words were so plain that they were understood by all, and his ideas so grand and lofty that they reached the heart of the English-speaking world.

One short clause at the very end of this speech has been quoted on various occasions so often that it is now as familiar as a household word. I refer to the expression: "That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." The sentiment here contained is so simple, and defines a democracy so clearly and tersely, that it seems somewhat singular that the same idea has never been fully expressed before ; as the Preacher says: "There is no new thing under the sun."

In these remarks I purpose to give a few sentences from other writers, where there is a close resemblance to the sentiment, but the similarity is not complete, as the idea is not as full. They are as follows : —

In a work entitled "Some Information respecting America, collected by Thomas Cooper, late of Manchester" (London, 1794), the author, writing to a correspondent, gives the principal inducement for people to leave England for this country. Besides other reasons, he says : —

There is little fault to find with the government of America, either in principle or in practice: . . . The government is the government of the people, and *for* the people (pp. 52, 53).

In an address presented to President John Adams, and signed by the principal citizens of Westmoreland County, Virginia, occurs the following sentence:—

The Declaration that our People are hostile to a Government made by themselves, for themselves and conducted by themselves is an Insult malignant in its Nature, and extensive in its Mischief. . . .

While the address is not dated, the answer was written on July 11, 1798. See Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (new series, IX. 322-327) for October, 1894.

Chief Justice Marshall, in *M'Culloch vs. the State of Maryland et al.*, IV. Wheaton's Reports (New York, 1819), says:—

The government of the Union, then, (whatever may be the influence of this fact on the case,) is, emphatically, and truly, a government of the people. In form and substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them, and for their benefit (pp. 404, 405).

Then, again, in Webster's "Second Speech on Foot's Resolution," delivered on January 26, 1830, as printed in "The Works of Daniel Webster" (Boston, 1851), this sentence occurs:—

It is, Sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people (III. 321).

Lamartine, in his History of the Girondists (London, 1850, Bohn's edition), speaking of Robespierre's theories, says:—

This end was the representative sovereignty of all the citizens, concentrated in an election as extensive as the people themselves, and acting by the people, and for the people, in an elective council, which should be all the government. The ambition of Robespierre, so often calumniated then and since, went not beyond this (III. 104).

Sixthly, and lastly, and more nearly the complete thought, Theodore Parker's "Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Ser-

mons" (Boston, 1852) contains the following paragraph in an address made on the "Slave Power in America," before the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, on May 29, 1850:—

There is what I call the American idea. . . . This idea demands, as the proximate organization thereof, a democracy, that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people; of course, a government, after the principles of eternal justice, the unchanging law of God; for shortness' sake, I will call it the idea of Freedom (II. 176).

The resemblance between these several citations is only a coincidence. It is a case where a somewhat similar idea existed in the brains of different individuals, when it was left for one man to clothe it in the responsive language of the many, and then it crystallized at once into a wise saying, and found its permanent place in literature. Other instances might be cited where persons have labored with the same sentiment, but it was left for Mr. Lincoln to mould it into its final shape, and to give utterance to an expression that is now well-nigh classical.

In connection with the quotations here given, it may be proper to cite a sentence from Chief Justice Sewall's Diary (Collections, fifth series, V. 333, 334) which contains the same general thought: "Jn^o Hoar comes into the Lobby and sais he comes from the Lord, by the Lord, to speak for the Lord."

MR. WILLIAM S. APPLETON said:—

When one has undertaken any study with real interest, especially perhaps if the interest is out of proportion to the importance of the work, it gives one pleasure to see the study or work approach absolute completeness. It is therefore with much satisfaction that I can say that I have lately learned the exact date of death of two of the four Senators reported missing a year ago. William Kelly, Senator from Alabama in the 17th and 18th Congresses, died at New Orleans 24 August, 1834. John Henderson, Senator from Mississippi in the 26th–28th Congresses, died at Pass Christian, Mississippi, 15 September, 1857. This leaves but two Senators whose deaths

are hidden in mystery, John Hunter of South Carolina and Joseph Kerr of Ohio.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by Mr. ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE; and by the PRESIDENT and Messrs. JAMES FORD RHODES, A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, WORTHINGTON C. FORD, ALBERT B. HART, and BARRETT WENDELL on the election of Honorary Members.

MEMOIR

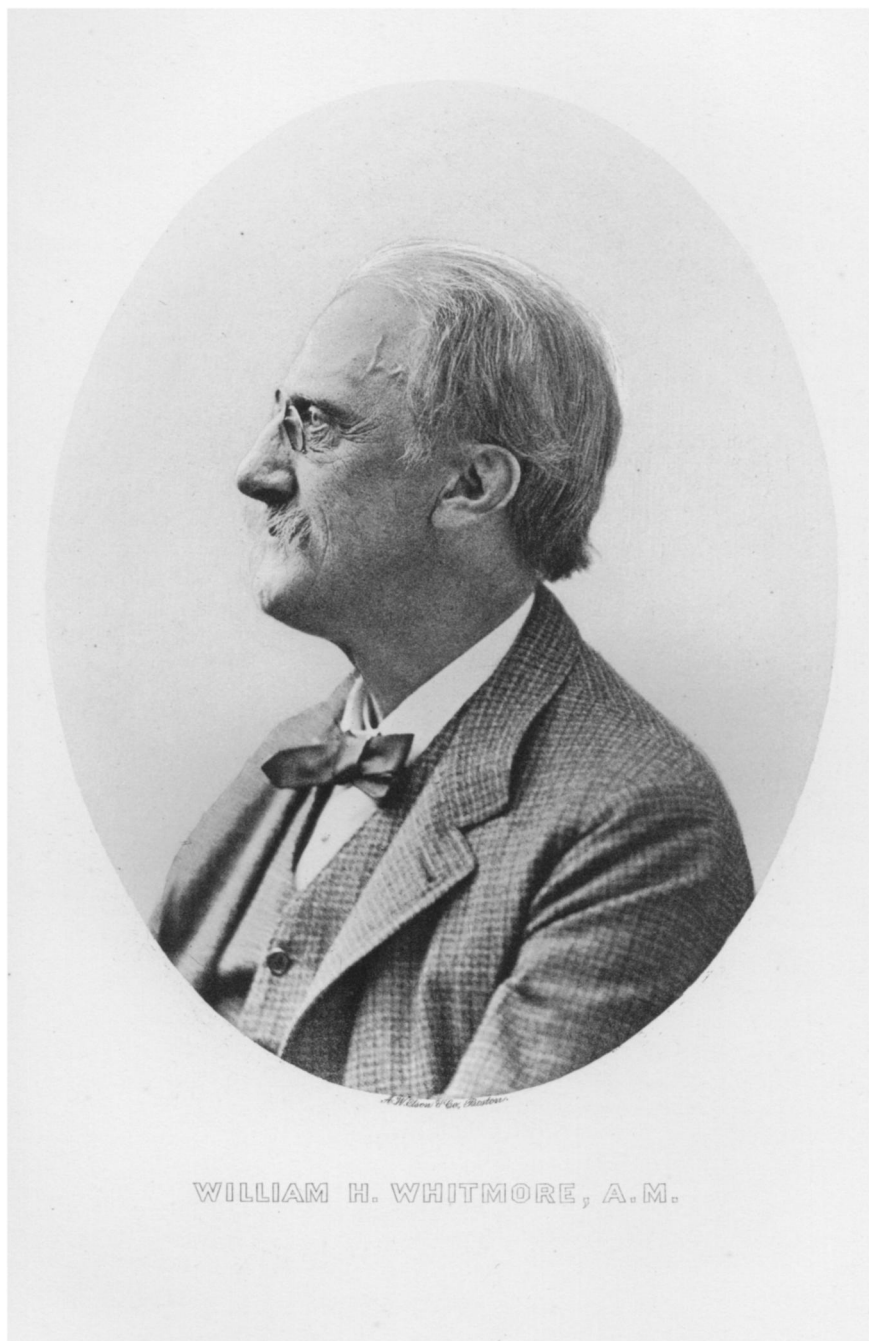
OF

WILLIAM HENRY WHITMORE, A.M.

BY WILLIAM S. APPLETON

WILLIAM HENRY WHITMORE was born at Dorchester, Massachusetts, 6 September, 1836, son of Charles Octavius and Lovice (Ayres) Whitmore. He has put in print the line of descent of each of his parents, from Francis Whitmore of Cambridge and John Ayres of Brookfield; but he was not able to connect either of these with his English ancestry. He was educated in the public schools of Boston, studying both at the Latin School and the English High School, but not completing the course at either. He entered the employment of the firm of C. O. Whitmore & Son, Commission Merchants for the sale of sugar and similar products, and, but for a short break, was connected with it for about twenty-five years. In 1861-62 he was abroad in the interest of the firm, most of the time in the island of Mauritius. While there he visited Madagascar, and on his way home made a short stay in Calcutta, and returned by way of England, more perhaps for the sake of seeing the village of Whitmore in Staffordshire than for any other reason. He never visited Europe again, and in fact but seldom crossed the frontiers of Massachusetts. In 1865 the name of the firm was changed to C. O. Whitmore & Sons. At one time not long after 1870 he studied law, but was never admitted to the bar; and at about the same time he studied and practised painting, being undoubtedly led to this by his friendship and admiration for the artist Virgil Williams. He later undertook business again as Treasurer of the Milan Mining Company of Maine, a position which he held for several years.

In 1874 he was elected to the Common Council of Boston from Ward Four as a Republican. He soon quarrelled with



WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, A.M.

the party managers, and joined the Democratic party. In 1877 he was a Democratic candidate for the Common Council from Ward Ten, but was defeated. He was elected in 1878 from Ward Twelve as a Democrat, and was President of the Common Council for the year 1879. His farewell address, delivered on the last day of December, is an interesting study and statement of some points of parliamentary law. He was re-elected in 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1885, 1886. He was a Trustee of the Public Library in 1882-83, 1885-88. In 1875 Whitmore and the writer were appointed by Mayor Cobb to the newly created offices of Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, and so continued by successive reappointments till 1892. The work of the Commissioners was twofold. They prepared and issued a series of volumes of historical interest, which numbered twenty-eight at the time of Whitmore's death. They also secured copies of the records of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials of all the Churches of Boston, now kept in the department of the City Registrar, and of great value in consequence of the imperfect state of the Town Records as regards Births, Marriages, and Deaths. In 1892 he was appointed by Mayor Matthews City Registrar of Boston, to whose former duties were added those of the Record Commissioners, whose appointment as such came to an end. He still held the position of City Registrar at the time of his death.

Business and public office, however, may be considered mere episodes in Whitmore's life, which was essentially that of a man of letters in various forms, an antiquary, devoted especially to the studies of genealogy and heraldry. In both of these he was an enthusiastic student and a careful, critical author. His bibliography may almost be said to be the best memoir of his life, and it has been tried to make that as perfect as possible. He joined the New England Historic-Genealogical Society in 1854. He was a member of the Publishing Committee of the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" 1857-61 and 1863-72, and was a frequent contributor to its pages, both of genealogies and of book-notices. That Society established a Committee on Heraldry in 1864, and Whitmore was its chairman from its beginning through the year 1872. It was at his suggestion that the Committee published for four years the "Heraldic Journal." He was much interested in the foundation of the "Historical Maga-

zine" in 1857, but his name does not seem to appear in official connection with it.

In 1858 he was one of the founders of the Prince Society, which he served at different times both as its Recording and its Corresponding Secretary. Much of his best work was done for it as Editor of several volumes. The most important of these are the three volumes of Andros Tracts. His thoroughness is shown, first, in the finding them and bringing them together, and then in the careful study and annotation of them. The Memoirs of Andros and of Increase Mather, prepared for them, were also issued separately, and are pieces of admirable work for thought and judgment. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1863, and did good work for it, particularly as one of the Publishing Committee on Sewall's Diary. The three volumes show the extent of his study and knowledge of the life of those days. In 1867 he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Harvard University and Williams College. To the Memorial History of Boston published in 1880 he contributed three chapters, "Boston Families Prior to 1700," "The Inter-Charter Period," and "Boston Families of the Eighteenth Century."

In May, 1879, Whitmore sent out a circular, which resulted in the foundation in June of the Boston Antiquarian Club, whose character is sufficiently indicated by its name. The Club was dissolved in December, 1881, transferring all its property to the Bostonian Society, whose purpose was and is "the study of the history of the City of Boston, and the preservation of its antiquities." As a member of the City Government Whitmore was of use in obtaining for this Society the occupation and charge of the Old State House, the interior of which was restored as nearly as possible to its appearance in provincial times. His work in this connection is enough to make his service in the Common Council a creditable one, had he done nothing else there. By special vote of the City Government he edited in two volumes, in 1887 and 1889, the Colonial Laws of Massachusetts. His introduction, or "Bibliographical Sketch," was issued separately in 1890, and is probably his most careful, elaborate piece of work. It received high praise from those thoroughly competent to judge it. He was for many years a regular contributor to the

“Nation,” both of book-notices and of signed communications, enough certainly to make a large and interesting volume.

Whitmore was so intelligent and so well informed generally as to make him a most entertaining companion, while it was certainly quite as easy to differ from him as to agree with him. He was ready to express himself very strongly as to persons, and to have very decided opinions on all matters. He cared little for social or society life, and gradually withdrew himself completely from it, partly of course because he found political preferment elsewhere. Theologically he showed one form of the reaction from the creed of his Puritan ancestors. He could not accept Calvinism, nor was he attracted to the convenient half-way house of the Protestant Episcopal Church, nor satisfied with old-fashioned conservative Unitarianism. Perhaps Agnostic, in the best, most honorable sense of that word, well describes him.

Whitmore suffered for several months before his death from a complication of diseases, from which little relief could be obtained. During the winter and spring of 1899-1900 he was able to be but seldom at his office in the Old Court House. Fortunately he had a competent, experienced body of assistants, who carried on most of the work, while important matters could be referred to him at his home, and his signature obtained to every paper to which it was necessary.

He married, 11 June, 1884, Fanny Therese Walling, daughter of Edward F. Maynard, of Boston. They had one child, Charles Edward, born 26 September, 1887. In his last genealogical pamphlet he printed a short account of her ancestry. He died in Boston 14 June, 1900.

Whitmore may be considered author of the following works:—

Reg. denotes a reprint from the N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register, *Hist.* a reprint from the Proceedings of the Mass. Historical Society, *Prince* a reprint from the Publications of the Prince Society.

Register of Families settled at the Town of Medford, Mass. Boston, 1855.

Record of the Descendants of Francis Whitmore, of Cambridge, Mass. Boston, 1855.

The Hall Family, settled at the Town of Medford, Mass. Boston, 1855.

Notes on the Manor and Family of Whitmore. Boston, 1856.

An Account of the Temple Family, with notes and pedigree of the Family of Bowdoin. Boston, 1856. *Reg.*

Memoranda relating to the Lane, Reyner and Whipple Families, Yorkshire and Massachusetts. Boston, 1857. *Reg.*

A brief Account of the Quincy Family, of Boston, Mass. Boston, 1857. *Reg.*

A Genealogy of the Norton Family, with miscellaneous notes. Boston, 1859. *Reg.*

The results of the destructive distillation of bituminous substances. A report presented to the annual meeting of the American Pharmaceutical Association at New York, Sept. 10, 1860. By W. H. Whitmore. &c. &c. Boston, 1860.

A Handbook of American Genealogy: being a catalogue of family histories and publications containing genealogical information, chronologically arranged. Albany, 1862.

Second Edition, 1868, with title The American Genealogist &c.

Third " 1875, " " " " " "

Notes on the Winthrop Family, and its English Connections before its emigration to New England. Albany, 1864. *Reg.*

Vickers or Vickery Family. [Albany, 1864.] *Reg.* No title-page, no place, no date.

The Cavalier Dismounted: an essay on the origin of the founders of the thirteen colonies. Salem, 1864.

A brief Genealogy of the Descendants of William Hutchinson and Thomas Oliver. Families closely allied by Intermarriage, and prominent at every Period of the Colonial History of Massachusetts. Boston, 1865. *Reg.*

The Elements of Heraldry: containing an explanation of the principles of the science and a glossary of the technical terms employed. With an essay upon the use of coat-armor in the United States. Boston, 1866.

Notes concerning Peter Pelham, the earliest artist resident in New England, and his successors prior to the revolution. Cambridge, 1867. *Hist.*

Catalogue of the American Portion of the Library of the Rev. Thomas Prince. With a Memoir, and list of his publications. Boston, 1868.

Reasons for the Regulation of the use of Coat-Armor in the United States, including a plan for taxing the employment of such insignia. Boston, 1868.

A Memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, Knt., Governor of New England, New York and Virginia, &c., &c. Boston, 1868. *Prince*.

Increase Mather, the Agent of Massachusetts Colony in England for the concession of a Charter. Boston, 1869. *Prince*.

A brief Genealogy of the Usher Family of New England. Boston, 1869. *Reg*.

A Record of the Descendants of Captain John Ayres, of Brookfield, Mass. Boston, 1870.

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Andrew Elliot, of Beverly, Mass., and his descendants. [Boston, 1873.] *Reg*. No title-page, no place, no date.

The Dalton and Batcheller Pedigree. [Boston, 1873.] *Reg*. No title-page, no place, no date.

Record of the Descendants of Andrew Belcher. Boston, 1873. *Reg*.

An Essay on the Origin of the Names of Towns in Massachusetts settled prior to A. D. 1775. To which is prefixed an essay on the name of the town of Lexington. Boston, 1873. *Hist*.

[Letter to the President of the Senate of Massachusetts on the choice of subject for a statue. 1873.]

System of denoting Relationships. [Boston, 1874.] *Reg*. No title-page, no place, no date.

The Wilcox Family. Boston, 1875. *Reg*.

The Publications of the Prince Society. Established May 25th, 1858. The Genealogy of the Payne and Gore Families. Boston: printed for the society, By John Wilson and Son. 1875.

Notes on the Family of Bigg, represented by the descendants of Hopestill Foster and John Stone. Boston, 1875. *Reg*.

Whitmore Tracts. A collection of essays on matters of interest to persons bearing the name. Boston, 1875. (Six tracts, paged separately, but numbered consecutively, and bound together.)

The Law of Adoption in the United States, and especially in Massachusetts. Albany, 1876.

Unjust Taxes: a criticism of the Massachusetts system of local Taxation. Boston, 1877.

The Public Rights in Boston Common. Being the report of a committee of citizens. Boston, 1877.

Address of President Whitmore at the last Meeting of the Common Council, December 31, 1879. Boston, 1880.

A Record of the Blakes of Somersetshire, especially in the line of William Blake, of Dorchester, Mass., the emigrant to New England: with one branch of his descendants. From the notes of the late Horatio G. Somerby. Boston, 1881.

Minority Report of William H. Whitmore, (One of the Trustees of the Public Library,) on the fitness of the English High and Latin School Building for the uses of the Public Library. Boston, 1882.

Re-Dedication of the Old State House, Boston, July 11, 1882. Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1882. (Half the volume is the Address of William H. Whitmore.)

Abel Bowen, Engraver. A sketch prepared for The Bostonian Society. Boston, 1884.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. House Document No. 345. Great Seal of the Commonwealth. Boston, 1885.

The Old State-House Defended from unfounded attacks upon its integrity. Being a reply to Dr. G. H. Moore's second paper, read before The Bostonian Society, Feb. 9, 1886. Boston, 1886.

A Bibliographical Sketch of the Laws of the Massachusetts Colony. From 1630 to 1686. In which are included The Body of Liberties of 1641, and the Records of the Court of Assistants, 1641-1644. Arranged to accompany the reprints of the Laws of 1660 and of 1672. By William H. Whitmore, Record Commissioner. Published by Order of the City Council of Boston. Boston, 1890.

Index to the City Documents, 1834 to 1891. With an appendix containing a list of City Publications not included among the numbered Documents. Boston, 1891. (The appendix by W. H. Whitmore.)

Memoir of Augustus Thorndike Perkins, A.M. Cambridge, 1892. *Hist.*

Descendants of Hopestill Foster of Dorchester, Mass. son of Richard Foster of Biddenden, Co. Kent, and his wife Patience Biggs (widow Foster), the immigrant in 1635. Boston, 1898. *Reg.*

He was editor of the following works:—

The Poetical Works of Winthrop Mackworth Praed New and Enlarged Edition In two volumes Redfield 34 Beekman Street New York 1860. (Preface signed W. H. W.)

The Publications of the Prince Society, Established May 25th, 1858. The Hutchinson Papers. Vol. I. Albany, N. Y.: printed for the society By Joel Munsell. 1865.

The Publications of the Prince Society, Established May 25th, 1858. John Dunton's Letters from New-England. Boston: printed for the society, By T. R. Marvin & Son. 1867.

The Publications of the Prince Society, Established May 25th, 1858. The Andros Tracts. Volume first: Boston: printed for the society, By T. R. Marvin & Son. 1868. Volume second, 1869. Volume third, 1874.

The Graveyards of Boston. First Volume, Copp's Hill Epitaphs. Albany, 1878.

The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts. Reprinted from the Edition of 1672, with the Supplements through 1686. Published by Order of the City Council of Boston, under the supervision of William H. Whitmore, Record Commissioner. Containing a new and complete index. Boston, 1887.

The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts. Reprinted from the Edition of 1660, with the Supplements to 1672. Containing also, The Body of Liberties of 1641. Published by order of the City Council of Boston, under the supervision of William H. Whitmore, Record Commissioner. With a complete index. Boston, 1889.

A Memorial of the American Patriots who fell at the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. With an account of the dedication of the Memorial Tablets of Winthrop Square, Charlestown, June 17, 1889, and an appendix containing illustrative papers. Boston, 1889. (Several times reprinted.)

The Original Mother Goose's Melody, as first issued by John Newbery, of London, about A.D., 1760. Reproduced in fac-simile from the edition as reprinted by Isaiah Thomas, of Worcester, Mass., about A.D., 1785, with introductory notes by William H. Whitmore. Albany, 1889.

A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston. By Nathaniel B. Shurtleff. Third Edition. Boston, 1890. (Long prefatory note by William H. Whitmore.)

The Original Mother Goose's Melody, as issued by John Newbery of London, circa 1760; Isaiah Thomas, of Worcester, Mass., circa 1785, and Munroe & Francis, of Boston, circa 1825. Reproduced in fac-simile, from the first Worcester edition, with introductory notes by William H. Whitmore. To which are added The Fairy Tales of Mother Goose, First collected by Perrault in 1696 reprinted from the original Translation into English by R. Samber in 1729. Boston, 1892.

Bills of Mortality, 1810-1849, City of Boston. With an essay on the vital statistics of Boston from 1810 to 1841. By Lemuel Shattuck. Boston, 1893. (Introduction and Appendix by W. H. Whitmore.)

He was the inventor or "compiler" of the following:—

Ancestral Tablets. A collection of diagrams for pedigrees, so arranged that Eight Generations of the Ancestors of any Person May be recorded in a connected and simple form. By William H. Whitmore, A.M. Member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. Boston, 1868. (Several times reprinted.)